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THE
PRINCIPLES

OF
MODERN PATRIOTS
EXPOS'D:

OR,

A Full and Clear DETECTION of the illegal and bloody Measures they are now carrying on.

CONTAINING

An indisputable KEY to their secret Instructions; a candid REPRESENTATION of the Consequences of those Maxims, which so indefatigably they instil; and undeniable PROOFS of their seeking *Private Advantage*, at the Expence of the Publick Peace.

A man of great wrath shall suffer punishment, Prov. xix. 19.

Ut mare quod natura sua tranquillum est, ventorum vi agitari videmus ac turbari: sic populus, sua sponte pacatus hominum seditiosorum vocibus & violentissimis tempestatibus concitari solet. CIC. pro CLUENT.

*Observe the Mountain Billows of the Main
Blown by the Winds into a raging Storm:
Brush off those Winds, and the high Waves return
Into their quiet first created Calm:
Such is the Rage of busy blustering Crowds,
Tormented by the Ambition of the Great;
Cut off the Cause, and th' Effects will cease,
And all the moving Madness fall in Peace.*

DRYD. CLEOM.

L O N D O N:

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The PRINCIPLES of MODERN PATRIOTS *Expos'd.*



THE Love of one's Country, Affec-
tion for our Constitution, Jealousy
for Liberty, Dread of the Encou-
ragements which Power may give
Men to attempt against the Publick,
and want of Knowledge as to the Pro-
gress of State-Affairs, are so strong Motives to-
wards listning to those who claim all the *Virtue* in
these Kingdoms, and declaim continually against the
Wickedness of Persons in Office, and the *Foulness* of
their Designs, that I cannot help believing there are
among those, who oppose his Majesty's Administration,
many, who act from good, tho' misguided, *Princi-
ples*, and who have no View, but that of preserving
to themselves and their Posterity, the invaluable *Bles-
sings* which we have enjoy'd since the late happy and
glorious REVOLUTION.

With These, I am throughly perswaded, the Friends
of the Government have no Quarrel; they are not
incens'd, even by the Injuries they do them; they
make them no Returns of Malice. On the con-
trary, they are heartily concern'd to see such Men
among their Enemies, and feel a real *Tenderness* for
them, even while they contemplate that Zeal and
Eagerness with which these misled PATRIOTS take

Pains to wrong them. Instead of exerting Power to their Prejudice, instead of calling on the secular Arm to refute them; they desire only to urge them, from Reason, Prudence, and a due Sense of Religion, to return to their Senses and their Duty; nay, to their Interest. Neither does there require much Study and many Words, to shew how far beyond the Bounds of Patriotism the Chiefs of the Opposition have carried their Designs; since it may be proved to Demonstration, that they have taught the Lawfulness, and held forth the Expediency, of subverting, not the Constitution only, but the Laws of Nature also; the fixed and unalterable Limits of Right and Wrong, as settled by the Dictates of Reason, as well as the Precepts of the Gospel: So that we must reject all that hitherto the unanimous Consent of Mankind hath accounted sacred, or we must give up these Chiefs and the Doctrines they teach. Nay, we must henceforth detest them as the Enemies of their Country, and as Foes to Mankind. But let me not learn of them to Declaim instead of Proving.

The Charge I bring against the Leaders of the Malecontents, is; endeavouring to stir up the People in general to tear the honourable Person, they hate, in pieces; or to instigate some gloomy half-distracted Wretch to murder him out of the way. These unhappy Men have employ'd their Tongues and their Pens, their Interests and Estates, to no Purpose; and now, envenom'd with old Prejudices, galled with fresh Disappointments, and goaded with uncomfortable Thoughts of what may hereafter befall them, they have Recourse to the last Expedient of harden'd Villains; and, since they can neither Overturn nor Betray, they labour, with incredible Diligence, to effect an ASSASSINATION.

If the open Declarations in Fogg, that the putting a Minister, with whom the People were displeased, to Death, without Form of Law, and even in the most
barbarous

barbarous and cruel manner imaginable, was a righteous, laudable, and truly heroic Act, were all the Proofs I had to offer; if the positive Approbation of tumultuous Applications to Parliament by the Head of the Malecontents, and his solemn Calling on the Mob to come by Thousands, and by Ten Thousands, to add Weight to the Harangues of him and his Associates, by questioning the Sentiments of Members as they went into the House of Commons, and threatening their Lives as they came out, were all the Facts I could alledge in support of this Accusation; if the subsequent Hints of that Arch-Patriot, in his Declamations, and his warm Discourses on the Expedience of public Vengeance; his Assertions that the Constitution is in the highest Danger under his MAJESTY's Government, and his frequent Citations of bloody Catastrophe's of political Disputes, swell'd and exaggerated with the most horrid and shocking Epithets, deliver'd too with an Air of Transport at the very Thoughts of shedding Blood: If these, I say, were the utmost Stretch of Evidence I could produce; yet these would be sufficient to induce an honest impartial Briton to doubt the Pretences of this Party to the Love of Liberty and public Spirit; these would give him just Cause to suspect, that private Interest and rancorous Malice suggested such cruel Inclinations, and such brutal Threats; and even these would appear much stronger Proofs of the Malecontents want of Patriotism, than they have ever produc'd against those they accuse of Male-Administration. But these, horrid and glaring as they are, fall far short of the plain and positive Testimonies which I shall go on to alledge.

The Project of frightening an honourable Person from the Helm; or, if that were not to be done, of dispatching him, as it has long been in Agitation among Those, who, with the worst Title in the World to so glorious an Appellation, assume the Style of Patriots.

Patriots : It cannot be amiss to open this Matter more fully to the *Publick*, and to take Notice of certain Consequences flowing from these *Consultations* among the *Malecontents*. There is no *body*, who has at all attended to the *political Alterations* of late *Years*, but must remember, that we have often had *Rumours* spread of great *Discoveries* made, *vast Designs* in hand, and prodigious *Blows* on the *Point* of being *struck* by the *wise* and *intrepid Chiefs* of the *Opposition*. It was, after a good deal of *Hissing* of this sort, and after some private *Letters* of a *Damnable* Thing in the *Press*, which, without question, would *demolish* the Administration, that the *Pamphlet*, entitled, *A Short History of PRIME MINISTERS*, was sent forth : The *Scope* of which was to inform the *good People* of *England* of certain *political Monsters*, which had formerly *disturbed* this *Nation*, and had as natural an *Inclination* to *subvert* the *Liberties*, and to *swallow* the *Properties* of their *Countrymen*, as *Foxes* and *wild Cats* have to *devour* their *Poultry* ; for which *Reason* their *Ancestors* had, without *Ceremony*, taken any *Opportunity* they could find to *knock* them *o'th' Head*. And, by way of *Memento*, that the *People* might never be at a *Loss*, or one of these *Vermin* escape for want of knowing what *Death* to put him *to*, a *Table* was added at the *End*, of the various *Methods* hitherto in use for *dispatching Prime Ministers* : Upon the coming out of which *Piece*, the *Craftsman* not only recommended it in a very *distinguishing Manner* ; but also assured us, such a *Monster* made dreadful *Havock* among us at *present* ; and called upon all zealous *Patriots* to concur in *hunting HIM*. But the *main Point* in view, was to intimidate the *Man* they could not *reach* ; and so, to give him *room* to come in and accept their *Grace*, the Party *whisper'd* it every-where, that Sir R----- had Thoughts of *Resigning* : Which puts me in mind of the *Fable* of the

the

the *Beaver*, who, when *bard press'd*, 'tis said, saves its *Life*, by biting off the *precious Things* 'tis pursued for ; which exactly corresponded with the *Intimations* given at that *Juncture* to the M----- that tho' a Vow had been made to effect his *utter Destruction*, yet that might be still *prevented* (if their Words might be taken) by *giving up* his *Places*. This *Potion* did not *work* near so strongly as they *expected*. In order to revive the *same Run of Thoughts* among the *People*, the *Declaimers* against the *Excise-Bill* ran out upon the Expediency of *cutting off Projectors*, of *destroying the Enemies of the People*, and of the Necessity of *wholesome Severities* for keeping the *Government in Order*. These *Discourses* they sufficiently *inculcated*, before they proceeded to *Acts* ; *Acts*, which will be everlastingly *remember'd*, to the *Glory* of the *present Race of Patriots*, as having a remarkable *Suitableness* to their own *Declarations*, and an evident *Tendency* to the *publick Good*. Full of these *generous Sentiments*, they express'd their *Regard* to the *Liberty of the Press*, by burning *Courants* and *London-Journals*, i. e. *Papers* written *against them*. They display'd their *Zeal* for the *Laws of the Land* and the *Safety of the Subject*, by burning in *Effigy* an *honourable Person*, because they were *against him* ; and they discover'd their *Loyalty* and *Attachment* to the *House of Hanover*, by reviling his *Majesty* and his *Family*, because they did not do what *these Men* would have had them. Having perpetrated all *this* with *Impunity*, they saw, with *Shame* and *Amaze*, that the very *Mob*, unheated by *Persecution*, were returning to their *Senses*, and were *sorry* for what had *pass'd* ; to prevent which, *Crowds of Coffee-House Orators* have been posted in *proper Places*, to keep alive the *Spirit of Disaffection* ; and large *Sums of Money*, under colour of *supporting B---w---TH* and *B---R*, have been *spent* once more, to blow up the *Flame*.
How

How well this Money has been laid out, appears from the *Triumph* of the *Faction* on the *Lord-Mayor's Day*; when the *Rabble*, with a true *Malecontent Spirit*, endeavour'd to murder the *Prime Magistrate* of the *City*, and thereby rejoiced the *Souls* of the *discontented*, who were under the most melancholy *Apprehensions* on the *Prospect* of *Peace* abroad, and *Quiet* at home; that *calm* and *drowsy Situation*, which they, above all Things, *abhor*; that *sleepy Tranquillity*, which furnishes no Matter for *P . . . y's Speeches*, and allows no Room for *St. J . . . n's Plots*.

But, if the *Spirit* of the *London Mob* delighted the *Arlington-Street Associates*, they were not a little vexed that it was not *better directed*; and therefore, to prevent the officious *Assassins* from spending their *Rage* again on a *wrong Person*, they published the very * *Saturday* following an *ample Manifesto* in the *Craftsman*, both to direct their *Aim*, and to justify their *Design*; that is, as far as such a *Design* could be *justified*, or as they justify any thing, by crowding together a *multitude* of *heavy Accusations* against the *Minister*, without *Proof*, or *Pretence to Proof*; and then concluding with as much *Boldness* on the *Authority* of those *Facts*, as if they had been supported by a *Crowd* of *substantial Witnesses*: For such is the *Candour*, *Equity*, and *Humanity* of the *Craftsman* on all Occasions.

The *Cover*, under which this *virulent Incentive* to *Murder* was conveyed, was superscribed *RUFINUS*, and pretended to be nothing more than a genuine *Account* of the *Rise*, *Crimes*, and miserable *End* of that *detestable Traytor*. But I shall demonstrate to my *Readers*, that this neither *was*, nor possibly *could be*, the real *End* and *Purport* of that *Paper*: I shall next shew what was the *secret Intent*

* *Craftsman*, Nov. 3, 1734.

of those who *published* it. I shall afterwards examine the *Consequences* of such *Doctrines* as that *Craftsman* abounds with. *Fourthly*, I shall confirm what I say by several *Instances* from *History*; and lastly, I shall endeavour to paint, in their *proper Colours*, those *restless*, *bloody*, and *unchristian Leaders* of *Sedition*, who have framed and digested this unnatural *Scheme*, and wait only to find out *proper Tools*, in order to put it in *Execution*.

In order to *prove* that the *History* of *Rufinus*, as given in the *Craftsman*, could not be intended to convey any kind of *Instruction* to the *Reader*, from the *Consideration* of *Matters of Fact*, according as they really *fell out* to that detestable *Minister*, and according to the pretended *Intention* of the *Author*, who would have us *believe*, that he wrote to give *Ministers Warning*, and to set up *Rufinus* as a *Scarecrow* to fright *them* from *Pride*, *Covetousness*, and other *Vices* incident to *Men*, in such *Stations*; it will be *necessary* to examine how far the *Account*, here given, corresponds with *Truth*; for no *Writer*, who intends to instruct by *Example*, in *Politics* especially, will ever offer *Falsities* to the *Eye* of the *Peruser*, because his being *detected* therein would marr his *Design*, and strip him of all *Authority*. If therefore I can prove the *Author* of the *Craftsman* makes use of *Rufinus's* Name, and a few *Circumstances* in his *Story*, only to gloss over *Facts* of quite another *Nature*, and to give an *Air* of *True History* to a *Tale* of his own making, I shall think that I have fully proved my *first Article*, that the *Example* of *Rufinus* is not what this *Writer* in *Fact* designed his *Readers* should fix their *Eyes* upon.

That *Rufinus* was *Favourite* to *Theodosius*, and afterwards *Prime Minister* to *Arcadius* his Son, is true; that he was a very bad *Minister*, and committed a multitude of *Crimes* in his *Administration*, till he was at last cut to pieces, is true also: But then

the *rest* of the *Story* in the *Craftsman* does not contain one *Syllable* of *Fact* ; that is, the *History* or *Example*, on which he insists so *gravely*, and recommends so *strenuously*, is of quite a different kind from that which it would *have been*, had *Rufinus's* Villanies been the true *Subject* of his *Pen*. *Zosimus*, an *Historian* of good *Reputation*, and who lived in those *Times*, hath left us a very full *Account* of *Rufinus* ; and, in all likelihood, a very *impartial* one too. I make no *Question* of the *Author's* perusing it, who drew up the *History* in the *Craftsman* ; let us therefore *compare* them, and *observe* how *judiciously*, and with how much *Sincerity*, the *Abstract* in the *Country Journal* is drawn out. *Zosimus* says :

“ *RUFINUS*, a *Native* of *Gaul*, was the most
 “ considerable Person in his *Reign* (i. e. in *Theodo-*
 “ *fius's* ;) for in him the *Emperor* confided *solely*.
 “ *Timasus* and *Promotus* however were extreamly
 “ piqued thereat, and thought it hard for them to
 “ hold the *second Rank*, considering the great *Ha-*
 “ *zards* they had run in *preserving* the *Empire*.
 “ *Rufinus*, quite elate with the great *Honours* done
 “ him by his *Master*, let fall one Day an *insolent*
 “ *Expression* in the *Council* against *Promotus* ; who
 “ thereupon, in his *Passion*, gave him a *Box* on
 “ the *Ear*. On this, away went *Rufinus*, with a
 “ loud *Complaint*, to *Theodosius* ; who, falling in-
 “ to a *violent Passion*, declared, that if the *Ene-*
 “ *mies* of his *Minister* did not *reconcile* themselves
 “ to him, he would make them *feel* that he was
 “ their *Emperor*. *Rufinus*, who was sensible that
 “ his own excessive *Ambition*, and his high Rank,
 “ render'd him *odious* to all the *World*, determined
 “ to rid himself of *Rivals* ; and therefore advised
 “ *Theodosius* to send *Promotus* a good *distance* from
 “ *Court*, under colour of an *honourable Employ-*
 “ *ment*. The *Emperor* comply'd ; and, *Rufinus*
 “ having

“ having suborned *Affasins* for that Purpose, *Pro-*
 “ *motus* was murder’d as he enter’d *Thrace*. Such
 “ was the unhappy *Fate* of this excellent *Person*,
 “ who had lived so *virtuously*, and with so high
 “ *Reputation* ; unlucky only in this, that he did so
 “ great *Services* to his *Country* under so impious and
 “ infamous a *Government*. Every honest Man in
 “ the *Empire* swelled with just Indignation against
 “ the *Author* of so inhuman a *Fact* : However,
 “ *Rufinus* was advanced to the *Consulate*, as if he
 “ had atchieved some *commendable Action*. Soon
 “ after *Tatianus*, and *Proculus* his *Son*, fell under
 “ a very unjust *Persecution*, tho’ neither of them
 “ had done any thing to offend *Rufinus*, more
 “ than discharging their *respective Offices* (the one
 “ being an *Officer* of great *Authority* in the *Army*,
 “ the other *Governor* of the *City*) with the utmost
 “ *Integrity*. In order to carry these detestable *De-*
 “ *signs* into *Execution* more easily, *Tatianus* was
 “ instantly removed from his *Office*, which was
 “ given to *Rufinus* himself ; and then an *Accusa-*
 “ *tion* was preferred against the *old Man*. *Rufi-*
 “ *nus*, on this *occasion*, did not only *preside* in the
 “ *Judicatory*, before which this *Affair* lay ; but also
 “ plainly directed every thing there, tho’ other
 “ *Judges* sat with him. *Proculus* in the mean
 “ time retired, to avoid falling into the *Snare* ;
 “ but *Rufinus*, being apprehensive of his revenging
 “ himself *one time* or *other*, began to practise upon
 “ the *Father* by *Flatteries* and *Oaths* : Nay, he
 “ brought the *Emperor* to give the *old Man* vain
 “ *Hopes*, and thereby induced him to recall his
 “ *Son*. No sooner was he come back, but he was
 “ thrown into *Prison*, and his *Father* sent away.
 “ The *Process* of *Proculus* was some time a *dis-*
 “ *patching* ; at last, *Rufinus* and the other *Judges*
 “ condemned him to suffer *Death*. But the *Em-*
 “ *peror*, as soon as he heard it, order’d him a *Par-*

“ *don*, which, by the Contrivance of *Rufinus*, he,
 “ who carried it, kept so long, that *Proculus* was
 “ actually *dispatched* before it arrived.”

The *Reasons*, why I have given this *Passage* at large, will appear hereafter. I shall now proceed to *abridge* very faithfully whatever I find in *Zosimus* farther concerning *Rufinus*. On the Murder of *Valentinian*, Emperor of the *West*, *Theodosius* found himself obliged to march into *Italy*, and to hazard all Things, in order to subdue *Eugenius*, who had assumed the *Sovereignty* in those Parts. At his Departure he declared his Son *Arcadius* Emperor, who being too young to govern, he left *Rufinus* in Possession even of *Imperial Authority*. In *Italy* he vanquished all his *Enemies*, declared his Son *Honorius* Emperor there; and at his *Death*, which happened soon after, appointed *Stilicon*, General of the *Troops*, his *Tutor*.

The *Historian* observes, that tho' *Arcadius* and *Honorius* had the *Titles* each of *Emperor*, one of the *East*, and the other of the *West*; yet, in Fact, neither of them had any *Power*, *Rufinus* and *Stilicon* directing all Things at their Pleasure: By their Favour every *Post* was obtained, and immense *Riches* flowed into their *Coffers*, by a multitude of different *Canals*. Inspired by such a *Flow* of good *Fortune*, *Rufinus* was so extravagant as to aim even at the *Empire* itself, by marrying his *Daughter* to *Arcadius*. How closely soever he conducted his *Designs*, yet they took *Air*; and the *People*, who hated him extremely, were still more offended at this insolent *Scheme*. Nay, there wanted not some, even in the *Court* itself, who detected his *Arrogance*, and sought to depress his *Power*. A Journey he made to *Antioch*, on purpose to commit a most flagrant *Murder*, gave those, who caball'd against him in the *Palace*, an Opportunity of frustrating his *Plot* to make the *Emperor* associate him after
 marrying

marrying his *Daughter* ; for, during the *Absence* of this *perfidious Minister*, they so wrought on the Mind of a *young weak Prince*, that they prevailed on *Arcadius* to marry a *young Lady* of great Beauty before his *Tutor's Return*.

Rufinus, finding this *Passage* to the *Empire* blocked up, conceived an implacable *Hate* against those who had promoted the *Marriage* ; and at the same time that he saw the *Crimes*, which he had already committed, threaten'd him with *Ruin*, he resolved to venture on *greater* to prevent it. In this execrable Work he soon found fit *Engines* to serve him : *Men*, who stuck at *nothing*, no not at the *absolute Ruin* of their *Country*. To one of these, viz. *Antiochus*, he gave the *Government* of *Greece*, with the *Title* of *Proconsul* ; and to another, the *Custody* of the famous *Pass* of *Thermopylae*, by which alone the *Province* could not be entered. Things thus disposed, he entered into secret *Negotiations* with *Alaric* the *Goth*, and engaged him to invade the *Empire* ; hoping, in the midst of so great *Confusion* as this, would stir up to Effect the *Projects* he had formed. *Alaric* very readily obeyed so welcome a *Summons* ; he marched towards *Greece* : *Antiochus* and the other *Captain* performed very exactly the Parts *Rufinus* had assigned them ; that is, they abandoned to the *Goth* the *Province* they should have defended ; and, if *Alaric* had managed his Affairs prudently, without doubt he might have secured very noble *Conquests* : But tho' he did not take such *Measures* ; yet, by pillaging the *Country*, and taking many *Towns*, he raised a prodigious *Clamor* among the *People*, and struck the *Inhabitants* of the whole *Empire* with terrible *Consternation*.

Stilicon, who, by *Marriage*, was nearly allied to the *Imperial Family*, who had lately made *Honorius* his *Son-in-law*, and who pretended, by *Theodosius's* dying Declaration, to be appointed *Guardian* to both his

his *Sons*, was much moved at the Behaviour of *Rufinus*; and, penetrating his mischievous Contrivances, determin'd to *cut him off* before he had brought all his *Schemes* to *bear*. In order to this, he represented to his *Pupil* the grievous Distress of his *Brother*; and earnestly press'd him, while all *Things* were in such *Confusion* in the *East*, to spare a *proper Detachment* of his *Troops*, under some *experienc'd Officer*, to go and become a Guard to *Arcadius*, and a *Succour* to his *Subjects*. This *Request* was very readily granted, and *Stilicon* was left to direct the *Execution* thereof after what manner he *pleas'd*, which was all he *wanted*.

Gaina, a Person on whom *Stilicon* could well depend, was the *Officer* chosen for this *secret Commission*; and, having receiv'd his *Instructions*, he march'd immediately to put them in *Execution*. As soon as he arriv'd with his *Forces* at a small Distance from *Constantinople*, he went to pay his Court to the *Emperor Arcadius*, who, when he heard how kindly his *Brother* provided for his Safety, express'd much Joy. *Gaina* took Advantage of this *Disposition* of the *Emperor*, and intreated him to honour his *Army* with his *Presence*. He represented it to him as a *Custom* common in the *Imperial House*; and which serv'd to encourage, and to gain the *Affections* of the *Soldiers*. *Arcadius* readily agreed to it, and *Rufinus*, suspecting nothing, accompanied his *Master* to the *Review*. The *Army* receiv'd the *Emperor* with loud *Acclamations*; and, as their *Custom* was, took him in to the *midst* of *them*. But, on a sudden, when a *private Signal* was given by their *Commander*, they fell upon the *wretched Rufinus*, and cut him to *pieces*. Afterwards, they carried about his *mangled Limbs* in *Triumph*, shouting and singing *Songs of Victory*, as if they had overcome some *potent Enemy*. This is *Zosimus's Account* of this *Tragedy*; nor does the *Description* given

given of it by *Claudian* the *Poet*, who was an Admirer of *Stilicon*, and who wrote a most outrageous *Satire* against *Rufinus*, differ from it in any considerable Degree. So that the *Reader* may, on good Grounds, receive this as a just *Abstract* of *Rufinus's* true *History*; neither heighten'd out of *Malice*, nor varnish'd to serve a *Turn*.

I am ready to allow *Mr. Danvers*, or, if that will please him better, *Mr. Danvers's Correspondent*, that, if he had intended to have warn'd a powerful *Minister* of his *Danger*; if, instead of attending to the great *Duties* of his *Post*, he addict'd himself wholly to the *Cultivation* of his *private Interests*, and endeavour'd to exalt himself, at the *Expence* of his *Master*; that he could not have pitched on any *Passage* [in *History* more à propos than this. But I assert, at the same time, that he ought to have stated *Things* in a true *Light*; that he ought not to have soften'd some *Things*, heighten'd others, and added new *Stories* from his own fertile *Invention*. *Rufinus's* Crimes were too foul, to need exaggerating; and too extraordinary in their nature, to be run over indiscriminately, and without regard to *Time* or *Order*; as they were abundantly too numerous, to want *Forgeries*, or even *Suppositions*, to help them out. He, who would have made this *Minister* an *Example*, should have drawn his *Character* fairly. Had this been done, I should never have charged so black a *Design* as an *Assassination* on the *Craftsman*: But when one finds nothing in the *History* of *Rufinus*, which belongs to him, 'tis natural to enquire on what *Account* his *Name* is made use of, or to what *End* this unaccountable *Fardel* of pretended *Quotation* is thrust forth into *Day*.

“ *RUFINUS* (says our *Oracle* of the *Malecontents*) was a *Native* of *Gaul*; but so mean and
 “ obscure, that none of the *Historians* have been able

“ able to deduce his *Pedigree* ; and we find little
 “ Mention of him, till he procured a considerable
 “ Employment under *Theodosius* the Great. It is
 “ probable, his first Office was much lower, and
 “ more suitable to his *Extraction* ; but by what
 “ Ways and Means he was advanced into this *Post*,
 “ we are not told with any *Certainty*. Perhaps,
 “ they were too *flagrant* to be named. However
 “ that be, he at last became *Prime Minister*, and
 “ sole *Favourite*.”

“ His *Person* was tall and well-made ; his *Ad-*
 “ dress smooth and affable ; his *Conversation* subtle
 “ and insinuating, which fitted him wonderfully for
 “ the *Intrigues* of a Court. But his *Elevation* quite
 “ turn’d his *Head* ; and, instead of making a right
 “ Use of it, by conducting himself with *Gratitude*
 “ and *Acknowledgment* to the *Persons* who rais’d him ;
 “ with *Regard* and *Decency* to his *Superiors* ; he
 “ grew treacherous to the one, and insolent to the
 “ others : He began to forget his old *Friends*, and
 “ talk loudly of his *Services*, and to flatter his *Am-*
 “ bition and *Avarice* with unbounded *Prospects*.

“ In order to accomplish his *Designs*, he found it
 “ necessary to remove *Men* of *Resolution*, *Worth*
 “ and *Probity* from Court : He endeavour’d always
 “ to keep back such *Men* from *Preferment*, and
 “ to advance those who were of more obsequious and
 “ ductile *Principles*.

“ Men, above the *Temptation* of *Money*, who
 “ served their *Country* and *Prince* without mean and
 “ fordid *Views*, were the great Objects of his *Rage*.
 “ *Tatianus* and *Proculus*, *Persons* of high *Rank*,
 “ and of considerable *Families*, were *Eye-sores* to
 “ him : Their just and impartial *Behaviour*, in their
 “ respective *Stations*, was a constant *Reflection* on
 “ his evil *Administration*. He therefore took Care
 “ to misrepresent them to the *Emperor*, and, by
 “ false *Accusations*, as well as other perfidious *Ar-*
 “ tifices,

“ *tifices*, accomplish’d their *Ruin*, to the great *Detri-*
 “ *triment* of the *Publick* ; who, when deprived of
 “ them, lost a *Patriot* in the one, and a *General* in
 “ the other.”

The *Reader*, by comparing this with the before-cited *Passage* from *Zosimus*, will perceive, that in these four *Paragraphs*, there are much about four *Lines* of *Truth*. He will be satisfy’d also, that if the *Rise* and *Fall* of *Rufinus* had been intended for that Day’s Entertainment, the *Affassination* of *Pro-motus*, the *Barbarity* of making a *Father* cajole his *Son* to his *Ruin*, and the infamous *Murder* of *Proculus*, would not have been forgot. He will need no farther *Proof*, that some other Thing was design’d under this *Parabolic Narration* ; or, at least, if he sees not what *Minister* the *Author* has been labouring to delineate, he will be convinced, that it was not *Rufinus’s Picture* he drew, since he has express’d none of his *Features* ; tho’, as we have shewn, they were both remarkable, and well enough known : He will weigh with himself also this farther Circumstance, that *Tatianus* and *Proculus* are here made of different *Families*, tho’, in Fact, they were *Father* and *Son* ; and, if he pleases, he may endeavour to find out on what Account this *Falsity* is laid down, and why *Truth* might not have served the *Turn* as well.

At this rate our *Retailer* of *Political Examples* goes on ; he ascribes fifty Villanies to *Rufinus*, which I, on the strictest Researches, can find no *Footsteps* of ; then tells us, that there was a great *Party* form’d against him, consisting of intrepid *Patriots*, Men of amazing *Virtue* in such an *Age* of *Corruption* ; these daily gain’d Ground upon him : But, for all that, he remain’d *Premier Minister* and *Sole Favourite* to *Arcadius*, as well as *Theodosius* (for this accurate *Writer* takes no Notice of his being appointed *Curator* or *Guardian* to *Arcadius*;) till, at last, provok’d beyond Bounds at his League with *Alaric*

the *Goths*, the *Multitude*, who are, it seems, the *dernier Resort* of despairing *Patriots*, took Heart of *Grace*, and most magnanimously became the *Tools* of the *righteous Party* before-mention'd, and tore *Rufinus* into a *thousand Pieces*. I shall not pretend to controvert this being a *Political Lesson*, which some may make *use of*; but I can safely affirm, the *Author* might as well have spared *Rufinus's* Name, as have tossed it about on this *Occasion* in the *manner* he has done. *Rufinus* was a *Villain: True*; but not *such a one* as he has *describ'd*. *Rufinus* ruined the *Empire*; but not by the *Means* he suggests. *Rufinus* did horrid *Murders*, even on *Persons* of great *Distinction*; but this *Man* says not a *Word* of him. *Rufinus* was *murder'd*; but not by the *People*. He fell a *Sacrifice*, 'tis *true*; but it was to *Stilicon*, and a *Party* he supported in *Arcadius's* Court, who, for all we *know*, were *little better* than *Rufinus's* *Creatures*, in *respect* of *Morals*. They *destroyed* him: *Yes*, by *Treachery* and the *Sword*; but they did it from *private Views*, and neither effected, nor, for all I can find, so much as *attempted* a *Reformation*. It is apparent, therefore, from what has been said, that the *History* in the *Craftsman* is not that of *Rufinus*; but is intended for *somebody* else. Let us next see what *Light* can be afforded as to that *Point*.

Among the *many Ways* which have been invented to convey *Mens Designs* and *Instructions* to each other, the *APOLOGUE* has been most frequently used in *Political Affairs*, as having in it something peculiarly *grand*, and *striking*. In the *Scripture* we have * *Jotham's Parable* of the *Trees*, which was spoken to the *Men* of *Schechem*, to hinder their setting up the *Tyrant Abimelech*. In the † *Roman History* we read, that *one* of *Tarquin's* *Sons*, having insinuated himself into the good *Graces* of the *People* of a neighbouring *City*, and

* Judges ix. 6. † Liv. lib. 1.

designing to *betray* them, sent a *Messenger* to his *Father* for *Directions*: The old *Tyrant* wrote no *Letter*; but, taking the *Man* into a *Place* full of *Poppies*, he *lopped off* the *Heads* of *those* which were *tallest*; by which, when the *Story* was recounted to his *Son*, the *young Villain* knew he was to take off, by *Fraud*, the *principal Persons* in the *Place* where he *resided*: And this *Piece* of *Advice* he accordingly *pursued*. * *Modern Writers* in *Politics*, especially such as have wrote against the *Government* they *lived* under, have frequently had *Recourse* to this *Method* of *Communicating* their *Thoughts* to avoid *Danger*; and, I dare say, none of my *Readers* can have so treacherous *Memories*, as not to call to mind more than *one Instance* of this *sort* in the *Craftsman*. When therefore one meets with a *Narration* plainly repugnant to *Truth*, as I have proved this of *Rufinus* to be; it is reasonable to *suspect*, that it is intended only for a *Shell*; and that this is to be *broken* and *thrown away*, before we come at the *Kernel*. On this *Ground* I will examine such *Parts* of this *Tale*, as have nothing to do with *Rufinus*; and see what *Sense* can fairly be *made* of *them*.

The *first Thing*, that *strikes* my *Eye* in this extraordinary *History*, is the *Description* which the *Author* gives us of a *Party* opposing the *Evil Minister* he *roasts* through his whole *Paper*, and *pulls* to *pieces* in the *End* on't. His *Words* are *these*:

“ He, *i. e.* *Rufinus*, was so conscious of his own
 “ *Guilt*, that he apprehended every *Thing* from a
 “ *Party*, which was now *gaining Ground* upon him
 “ *every Day*: A *Party*, which was not only *superior*
 “ to his own in *Number*, but much more *considera-*
 “ *ble* in *Esteem*; being composed of *Men* of the
 “ *first Rank*, the *largest Properties*, and the *greatest*
 “ *Abilities*; whom no *Motives* could induce tame-

* Hist. of *John Bull*, *High-German Doctor*, &c.

“ ly to *acquiesce* under the *Grievances* and *Calamities* of their *Country*; who could not, without *Horror*, reflect on the *Consequences* of an *exhausted Treasury*, and an *endanger'd Constitution*; who preserved the *Principles* of *Liberty*, *Honour* and *Loyalty*, in the *worst* of *Times*, even under his most *detestable Ministry*.”

I presume, this needs no *Explanation*. The establish'd *Custom* of Mr. *Danvers* and his *Associates*, never to afford any *body* a good *Word* but *themselves*, will not allow us to doubt for what *Set* of *Men* this *Character* was drawn. Besides, there are some *Strokes* so very *strong*, that one cannot mistake the *Piece*. A *Party* gaining *Ground*, without *carrying* one *Point*; a *Party* superior in *Number*, and yet *defeated* in those *Disputes* wherein *Superiority* of *Numbers* alone *prevails*; a *Party* of *great Men*, *rich Men*, and *wise Men*, and yet unable to overcome a *Handful* of *Scoundrels*, *Beggars* and *Block-heads*, that have *kept them* under these *seven Years*: This is such a *strange paradoxical, unaccountable Party*, that, I am confident, no *Man* alive can take it for any other than ——— our *PARTY* of *MALECONTENTS*.

But this sage *Transcriber* of *History* has a most elegant *Description* of the *Senate*, in the *Days* of *Rufinus*; as *Zosimus* says not a *Word* of that *Nature*, it is but *fair* to look a little into his *Account*, and it is very possible we may give a *shrewd Guess* from what *Hand* he *borrowed* it, and to what *End* he *produced* it.

“ The *SENATE*, that is, the *MAJORITY*
 “ of it, was become *little better* than a *Collection*
 “ or *Assembly* of *Pensioners*, *Preferment-Hunters*,
 “ *Boy-Politicians*, and *Court-Slaves*; who, being
 “ divested of their original *Senatorian Authority*,
 “ had lost all *Sense* of *Justice*, all *Freedom* of *Voting*,
 “ all that *Force* of *Eloquence* and *Spirit* of *Liberty*
 “ which

“ which animated the old Romans, and made them
 “ the Terror of arbitrary Power :—— No Pro-
 “ ceedings were too violent ; no Decrees too unjust ;
 “ no Resolutions too absurd ; no Actions, no Ma-
 “ nagements too profligate for them, when they were
 “ executing the Commands of their great Lord and
 “ Master Rufinus.”

This is strange Language, especially if we consider it naked and devoid of any Support from History ; 'tis Language a Greek Writer could not use ; 'tis stuffed with Terms, which demonstrate that it relates to lower Times, to lower Times did I say, to our Age and Nation ; it is the same Language exactly that was given to the last PARLIAMENT, in the Funeral Oration thereon written, and published by our Patriots : 'Tis that Language, in which they continually talk of the great Council of the Nation ; 'tis that Language, which is everlastingly in the Mouth of the Arch-Patriot ; and, in fine, 'tis Language that any but themselves would have blushed to put into Writing. But 'tis their Boast and Glory, at least 'tis so of their Chief, to have introduced Billingsgate in the room of Argument, and to betray, nay to forge, private Conversation, in order to serve a Turn. Happy Achievements truly !

But 'tis time to come to that Catastrophe our sagacious Author has thought fit to give us of his political Novel. This Party, this numerous and powerful Party, being able to do just nothing against Rufinus and his Senate of Hirelings, at last it came to pass, that Rufinus made a Treaty with Alaric the Goth ; the learned Writer tells us nothing of its Nature, but immediately, as is the Custom of these Gentlemen, on the very Mention of a Treaty, runs out into a furious Declamation, first against Rufinus, and then against all Treaty-makers in general. These are his Words :

“ But

“ But this *Behaviour* only roused the *Indignation*
 “ of his *Opposers*, the *Defenders* of *publick Liberty*;
 “ and gave, with *good Reason*, the greatest
 “ *Offence* to those who had any *Regard* to the *common*
 “ *Safety*; for what deplorable *Circumstances* must
 “ a *Nation* be in, when its chief *Ministry* fly to
 “ *Foreigners* on every *Approach* of *Danger*, and
 “ *barter* away the *Constitution* of their *Country* for
 “ their own *personal Safety*?”

In order to understand this *Paragraph* perfectly, it may not be amiss to put the *Readers* in mind, that, at this time, there was some *Advices* from abroad of a *Treaty* between *Great-Britain* and some of the *Northern Crowns*, about proper *Measures* to be taken for restoring and settling effectually the *Peace* of *Europe*, and a proper *Ballance* of *Power*. But to return to our *Historian*:

When these *Opposers* of a *wicked Minister*, these *Defenders* of *publick Liberty*, were so highly and so justly provoked, one would have imagined that they should have accused this *Miscreant*. I presume, there were *Laws* in those *Days*, by which such an *over-grown Sinner* might have been put to *Death*; and it is not easy to conceive, why they could not have been *executed*, when this same *Party* was *superior* in *Numbers*, *Riches*, and *Authority*; and even *Rufinus's ministerial Slaves* defended him with less *Zeal* and *Alacrity* than usual. But, according to our ingenious *Writer's* Account, did they *accuse* him *legally*, and bring him to an *open Trial*? No: They set the *Mob* upon him, which they might have done, had he been ever so *innocent*; and those *reasonable* and *equitable Judges* made an *End* of the *Affair* in an *Instant*.

“ The *Measure* of his *Iniquity* (says our *Satur-*
 “ *day-Lecturer* in the *Conclusion* of his *Sermon*) was
 “ now full. This last *treacherous Step* incensed the
 “ *multitude* against him beyond all *Bounds*. They
 “ could

“ could not contain themselves *any longer* ; but resolved to *deliver*, and *revenge* themselves on such a *Monster* ; which they did, by tearing him into a *thousand pieces*. Thus fell the infamous *Rufinus* a *Sacrifice* to *popular Rage* ; and, tho’ his *Death* was *violent*, yet was it **NATURAL.**”

I must repeat it, That all this has nothing to do with the true *Story* of *Rufinus*, but is all pure *Invention* ; a mere *typical Representation* of a wished for *Fact*, a Declaration in Favour of *tumultuous Judgments*, and a *studied Defence* of an utter *Subversion* of all *Governments* cursed with a *giddy Populace* and a *blood-thirsty Gang* of *Pseudo-Patriots*, ready to excite the most *barbarous Villanies*, and to gloss over the most *execrable* of all *Murders*. To what end this *fiſtitious Tale* was thrown out, the impartial *Peruſer* may perceive from the following *Obſervation* ; with which this human and virtuous *Lecture* is concluded.

“ I have already made ſome *Apology* for ſending you this little *Piece* of *History* ; and ſhall conclude with obſerving, that although it does not appear exactly *parallel* in every *Circumſtance* to the *Character* of any one *Man* now living ; yet, if your *Readers* will give themſelves the Trouble to *look round*, it is not impoſſible that they may, *ſome-where* or *other*, find a **PERSON** in **POWER**, who bears a *near Reſemblance* to it in many *Particulars.*”

It is impoſſible to peruſe this *pithy Application*, without obſerving the Difference between the *Prologue* and *Epilogue* to this incomparable *Piece*. In the *beginning*, while he is *ſpeaking* of the *Slipperineſs* of *high Poſts*, the *Author* would have us believe, he is talking to ſome *Minifter* for his *Good* ; but, at the *Clouſe*, when he has deſcribed a moſt *horrid Murder*, which he drew *reeking* hot too out of his own cruel *Imagination*, he never thinks of calling the

Minifter

Minister to gaze on the mangled *Rufinus*, that from thence he may learn to dread *Mobs*, as, had he pursued his own *Plan*, he ought to have done : But, on the contrary, his *Readers*, i. e. the *Mob* themselves, are *summon'd*; and that they may not lose their *Time*, by not knowing what to make of his *Paper*, he points out to them a **PERSON** in **POWER**, on whom to practise one of those extrajudicial *Punishments*, which, tho' **VIOLENT**, is for all that not **UNNATURAL** : And this the *Man* himself declares to be the *End* of his *Paper*.

Had I not been afraid of trespassing too much on the *Reader's* Patience, I could have easily decypher'd other *Circumstances* in the *Letter*, which evidently point at present *Times*; such as dropping the *Relation* between *Tatianus* and *Proculus*, and omitting the cruel *Murder* perpetrated on the latter, merely to give an *Air* of *Likeness* to the *Cases* of two Noble *Lords* lately turned out; one of whom the *Craftsman*, since his *Disgrace*, affirms to be a *Patriot*; and the other, all the *World* own to be a *General*. The *Violation* of *Magna Charta*, and the *Short History* of *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, are broad *Hints*; and, in a word, could the *Mob* be brought to turn the *Malecontents* Executioners, even their *Atheistical Attorney* might, from these *Materials*, draw a *Manifesto* to colour it twice as much to the *Purpose* as his logical *Letters* on the *Independency* of *Parliament*; or, he must be a very dull *Rogue* indeed.

It is certainly owing to the *Virtue* and *Understanding* of the present *Age*, two very feeble *Supports*, if the common *Cry* of the *Malecontents* can gain *Belief*, that such *Discourses* as these do no *Mischief*. If there be any *hair-brain'd Enthusiasts*, any *wrong-headed Suitors* for *Places*, or *half-distracted* and *half-starv'd Jacobites* in the *Kingdom*; how dangerous are such *Effays* as these? Or, what *Man* is
safe,

safe, if it be lawful openly to *persuade his Murder*? What a *new*, what a *horrid Practice* is this in a *Weekly Paper*; or, what *Security* can we have that these *Saturday-Proclamations* shall not be follow'd by formal *Proscriptions*? Our *Countrymen* may be, some of them, *distemper'd in Mind*, as well as the *People* of other *Nations*; and come to think little of *Stabbing* in the *Dark*, or, of *spilling Blood* like *Water*? Nay, suppose *them* incapable of such a *Villany*, cannot *B---f---dn* bring *one* over when he next goes *Abroad*? or, need we doubt the *good Will* of a *Party*, who never speak of any thing with that *Pleasure*, as of *Bloodshed*? For what do we *dread* the *Papists*? for what do the *Papists* themselves *dread* the *Jesuits*? Surely, for teaching such *Antichristian*, such *diabolical Doctrines* as these. Shall the *Pretence* of *Patriotism*, then, sanctify the *Dregs* of *Popery*; nay, the *Tenets* which all *honest Papists* declare they *abhor*? Shall we apprehend *all Things* from a *Ministry*, who avow their *hearty Attachments* to the *Constitution* in *Church* and *State*; and shall we fear nothing from *Malecontents*, who spare no *Pains* to throw us all into *Blood* and *Confusion*? But, perhaps, *these* may be call'd the *Dreams* of a *timorous Mind*, and the too hasty *Conclusion* of a *Dependant* on the *Administration*. Let *Instances*, then, *speak*; let us hear *Facts*; a sort of *Evidence*, which, even the *Craftsmen* allow, cannot *lie*: By these I am content to have the *Controversy* determin'd.

In alledging *Proofs* on this Head, I must entreat the *Reader* to advert to the *Single Point* to which they are produced, (*viz.*) That the *Mob* in *general*, or some *wrong-headed Enthusiast*, may easily be *drawn* in to commit a *Murder* on any *Person* pointed out to be *Murdered*; which, if *true*, and such *pointing out* and encouraging be not restrained, it will follow, that the *State* wherein this happens will suffer a *total Subversion*: For, if *private Men* take upon

D

them

them to execute the *highest Punishments*, according to the *Dictates* of their *Will*, this will unavoidably introduce Anarchy, or Mr. *Hobbes's State of Nature*, the most deplorable *State Mankind can be in* on this *side of Hell*. I must further desire the *Peruser* to consider, that if *Light* and *Lawful* Declarations of *Grievances* have ever produced such *Effects*, it is *clear Evidence* in favour of the *Doctrine I maintain*, tho' it be no Bar to the *making* such *Declarations*; for tho' the *Abuse* of them may occasion open *Seditions* or *private Murders*, yet this is no *Argument* against the *Use* of them, which is generally *beneficial* to the *Publick*.

* In the Month of June, 4 Car. I. 1628, the House of Commons then sitting deliberated on the *unhappy State* of *publick Affairs*, the *Causes* of that *unhappy State*, and the *Remedy* which might be *applied*. In these *Debates*, some zealous *Patriots* named the *Duke of Buckingham* as the *Grievance* of *Grievances*, the *great* and *sole Cause* of all the *Evils* under which the *Nation* groaned: Whereupon it was moved, that a REMONSTRANCE should be *drawn* up and presented to the *King*; wherein, after a *Detail* of the *present miserable State* of *Things*, the *Duke* should be *peremptorily named* as the *Source* and *Origin* of *all*, and that an humble *Suggestion* should follow of the *Expediency* of removing his *Grace* from that *exorbitant Power* which he then held as well at *Land* as at *Sea*. This *Point* of naming the *Duke* was opposed by several *Patriots*; and in many *Particulars* his *Conduct* was defended by *Gentlemen* of great *Reputation* and unblemished *Integrity*: At last, the *Question* being put, it was, on the *Thirteenth* of *June*, Ordered, That the *excessive Power* of the *Duke of Buckingham* is the *Cause* of *Evils* and *Dangers* to the *King* and *Kingdoms*; and that this be added to the *Remonstrance*.

* *Rushworth's Collection*, Vol. I. p. 616.

† While this REMONSTRANCE was under *Consideration* of *Parliament*, some, who were desirous of *passing* for *warmer Patriots* without *Doors*, cried out on the *Slowness* of such *Proceedings*, urged the *People* to take the *Cause* into their own *Hands*, and in a *summary Way* deliver themselves from all *Offenders*, i. e. knock the *Brains* out of every *Man* they did not like. Pursuant to this Advice, on the 18th of *June*, one *Dr. Lamb*, a *Dependant* on the *Duke of Buckingham*, coming through the *City of London*, was surrounded by the *Rabble*, who called him *Devil*, *Witch*, and the *Duke's Conjurer*; to escape which insolent *Treatment*, and out of *Terror* of worse *Usage*, the poor *Wretch* took shelter in the *Windmill-Tavern* at the lower end of the *Old Jury*, where he remained some small time; but, the *Mob* threatening the *Man* of the *House*, unless he would turn the *Devil*, as they styled him, out, he at last out of *Fear* complied; and they, in their great *Humanity*, handled that *unhappy Man* so roughly, that he died that very *Night* of his *Bruises* and *Wounds*: Nor could any of this *barbarous* and *bloody Rabble* who had so *notoriously* violated the *Laws* and *Constitution* of their *Country*, whereby no *Man* ought to be put to *Death*, but by *Verdict* of his *Peeers*, ever be brought to *Conviction*: So obstinately did they stick to each other, or so * *negligent* were those who ought to have carried on the *Prosecution*.

|| The *Commons* taking no Notice of those *hot* and *rash Counsels*, which some *without Doors* very loudly gave them, went on and perfected their REMONSTRANCE; in the *beginning* of which they paid very high *Compliments* to the *King*; thanked him, in terms of deep *Respect*, for his *Clear* and *Satisfactory Answer* to the *Petition of Right*; and

† *Rushworth's Collection*, Vol. I. p. 618.

* *Whitlock's Memorial*, p. 17. || *Rushworth's Col.* Vol. I. p. 619

protested their own unshaken *Loyalty* and sincere *Affection* to his *Person*. Then they went on to give a general *Description* of the *Low* and *Deplorable Condition* into which on a *sudden* the *Kingdom* was reduced; and afterwards enter'd into a more large and explicit *Account* of sundry *Particulars*, expressly imputing these *Evils* to the too great *Power* of the *Duke of Buckingham*, and to his *Abuses* of his so great and *exorbitant Power*; suggesting in the *Close*, that it was *Point* most worthy his *Royal Consideration*, whether it was *Safe* for his *Majesty* and the *Kingdom* to continue the *Duke* in his great *Offices*, or in his *Place* of *Nearness* and *Council* to his *Sacred Person*? These *Proceedings* were *reasonable* and *legal*, and, it is probable, would have had a *due Effect* upon the *King*, if the *People* had kept as much within *Bounds* as their *Representations* did.

* But the *Enemies of Peace*, those who aimed only at raising a *Civil War* whereby to advantage themselves, encouraged the *Rabble* to commit great *Violences* to disturb the *Publick Peace*, and to do all those Things, which they would have called *Treason*, and punished as *Treason* in others: But, above all, this new *Doctrine* of putting to *Death* publick *Enemies* without *Form of Law* or *Colour of Justice*, was strongly inculcated and preach'd up. *Proverbs* and *Rhimes* are the best *Maxims* for the *Mob*; so this *human Precept* was digested into a kind of *VOW* in this *Distich*:

Let CHARLES and GEORGE do what they can,
The DUKE shall die like Doctor Lamb.

Which was daily repeated by the *People* in the *Streets* in a *Triumphant Manner*: But in this they failed. However, the *Lectures* of the graver *Sort* of these *Incendiaries*, who failed not to teach the *Lawfulness* of

* *Rushworth's Collection*, p. 618.

Destroying Evil Ministers, had its *Effect*, and excited an *obstinate malicious VILLAIN* most *basely* to *murder* that unhappy *Nobleman*. The Ground these *Patrons of Assassination* went on, was exactly the same that the *Jesuits* insisted on against King *Henry IV.* of *France*, and which brought *him*, as it had done his Predecessor *Henry III.* to a *violent and bloody End*; and the *Principles* of all these several sorts of *barbarous Projectors* being the same, the same *Reasons*, which *refute* the *Popish Positions* on his *Head*, will *refute* the rest; and therefore need not be insisted on here.

The *Fleet* designed for the *Relief* of *Rochelle* lying at *Portsmouth*, the *Duke of Buckingham*, who was to *Command* it, went thither; and was there *Stabbed* by the *Hand* of *Lieut. Felton*, who, far from desiring to let the *Weight* of this *Murder* fall on an innocent *Man's Head* (as it might very probably have done, if the same *frantic Spirit* which induced him to *commit* the *Fact* had not prompted him to own it) on the first *Enquiry* took it on himself, was thereupon seized, and sent to *London*. On his coming to *Town*, there were many who flocked to see him, either to enquire into the *Circumstances* of so strange a *Fact*, or out of *Curiosity* to dive into the *Motives* of so *cruel and flagitious* an *Action*. To those who came he answered, that it was *He* indeed who killed the *Duke of Buckingham*; that he was sorry for the *doing* of it; that he had long look'd upon the *Duke* as an *Evil Instrument* in the *Commonwealth*, and that he was convinced thereof by the *Remonstrance* of *Parliament*; which *Consideration* with the *Insinuations* of the *Evil One*, he declared, were all the *Motives* which induced him to *perpetrate* that *Fact*. The same, in *Substance*, he repeated on his Examination at the *Council-Table*; only he added, that he was provoked to this *bloody Deed* by the reading * *SOME BOOKS*, the *Craftsmen* doubtless of those *Times*, which maintained

* *Rusworth's Collection*, Vol. I. p. 638.

it was *lawful* to kill an *Enemy* to the *Republick*, Mr. *Rushworth* has preserved another very remarkable *Story* of this *Affasin*: *Felton* having once received some *Injury* from a *Gentleman*, he wrote him presently a *Challenge*, and in it inclosed a *Piece* of his *little Finger*, to convince the *Man* how little he *valued* his *Person* in comparison with his *Revenge*. How happy is it for this *Nation*, that the *Body* of *Patriots* have not among them as yet a *Felton*, or a *Ravillac*, to execute their *barbarous Purposes*.

This execrable Notion, that conferring the Name of a *Publick Enemy* laid *him*, on whom a *private Man* conferr'd it, at the *Mercy* of that *private Man*, and of every *other Man*, so that he might be as lawfully *murder'd* as a *mad Dog*, was spread by some of the *Puritans*, call'd *Teachers*; and so became an *Article* of *Faith* amongst the *Cameronians*, a *virulent Sect* of *Enthusiasts* in *Scotland*. These *People*, conceiving themselves the *L O R D's S A I N T S*, from thence concluded, that *all* who opposed *them* were *Enemies* to the *Reprobates* and *devoted Sinners*, whose *Blood* might be *shed* without *Sin* by the *Elect*. On these *Principles*, while they *raved* against *Persecution*, they *persecuted* with the utmost *Fury*, *those* they could get into their *Hands*; the *Gospel of Peace* was always in their *Mouths*; but, notwithstanding this, the *Sword* was often in their *Hands*. In a *word*, they *spoke*, as if their *Thoughts* were wholly taken up with *Religion*; and acted, as if *Religion* never *once* came into their *Thoughts*. Dr. *Sharp*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews* and *Primate* of *Scotland*, fell under their *heavy Displeasure*, for having had a great *Hand* in settling *Episcopacy* in that *Kingdom*: Him they *proscribed* and attempted to shoot Him in the *Streets* at *Noon-Day*, and the *Man*, that did it, actually wounded the *Bishop* of *Orkney*, and yet went *home* unmolested. This *Disapointment* served only to *irritate* them the more, and so new *Schemes* were enter'd into to take off this

Enemy

Enemy of the *Almighty*, as they profanely called him ; reputing all *so*, who were against them. Neither were the *Villains*, concern'd in this *black Business*, low mean *Wretches* ; but *Gentlemen* of *Family*, whose *Brains* were turned with *Enthusiasm* ; and who were thereby disposed to *execute* the most enormous *Crimes*, under the *Name* of *Religion*. But to come to the *Fact*.

* The *Archbishop* of *St. Andrews* had been attending his *Majesty's* *Business* at *Edinburgh* ; from whence he went over into *Fife* in the *Afternoon* on the *second* of *May* 1679 : That *Night* he lodged at *Captain Seaton's*, at a *Village* called *Kennoway*, which is the mid-way between *Burntisland* and *St. Andrews*. About *Midnight*, as the *People* of the *Town* report, *two* Men, well mounted and armed, came thither to enquire if the *Archbishop* of *St. Andrews* was lodged at *Captain Seaton's* ; and as soon as they were inform'd he was, they presently rode out of the *Town* again. Next Morning, being the *third* of *May*, several *Parties* of *Horse-men* were seen to traverse the *Road* betwixt *Kennoway* and *St. Andrews* ; but the *Lord Primate*, who was a *Man* of great natural *Courage*, and whom so many *Deliverances*, for almost *twenty* Years, from the *Hands* of those bloody *Zealots*, had now brought to entire *Confidence* in *God's Protection*, took *Coach* about *Nine* of the *Clock*, having none, but his *eldest Daughter* with him, and *three Servants* on *Horseback* to attend him, one of whom he had sent, before he was assaulted, to pay his *Respects* to a *Person* of *Honour*, by whose *House* he passed on the *Road* : He advanced, in his *Journey*, with great *Security*, till he arrived at a little *Village* called *Magus*, two Miles Distance from *St. Andrews*, betwixt *Eleven* and *Twelve* of the *Clock* in the *Forenoon* ; there he first perceiv'd himself to be pursued by about *eleven* or *twelve* Men barefac'd, well mounted, with *Pistols* cock'd in their *Hands*, and drawn *Swords* hanging in *Strings* from their *Arms* : As soon as he spied them, he

* *Salmon's Exam. of Burnet*, p. 842.

bid his *Coachman* drive as *fast* as his *Horses* could gallop, but too late ; for the *Affassins* furiously pursued him, and, in their *Pursuit*, shot at him *several times* in the *Coach*. The *Coachman* had certainly *out-driven* them, if one *Balfour* of *Kinloch*, mounted on a very *fleet Bay-Horse*, had not overtaken them, who rode up to the *Postilion*, whom he wounded with his *Sword* in the *Face*, shot one of his foremost *Coach-horses*, hamstring'd the other, and stopp'd the *Coach* : By that *time* this was done, the *rest* of the *Murderers* came up, and one of them fired a *Piece* so near his *Breast*, that his *Daughter* wiped off the *burning* which stuck to his *Gown* : Then they called him *Dog*, *Villain*, *Apostate*, *Persecutor* of the *Godly*, *Betrayer* of JESUS CHRIST and his *Church*, &c. and bid him come out of the *Coach* to receive what he *deserved* for his *Wickedness*. Upon this, his *Daughter* got out of the *Coach*, and fell on her *Knees*, begging her *Father's Life* ; but they regarded neither her *Prayers* nor *Tears*, threw her down several times upon the *Ground*, trampled upon her, and wounded her ; which her *Father* seeing, after much *reproachful Language* and many *Threatnings*, came out of the *Coach*, and with *Calmness* said unto them : *Gentlemen*, I know not that I ever *injured* any of you ; or, if I did, I am *ready* to make you *Reparation* ; and therefore I beseech you to *spare* my *Life*, and I promise I will never *pursue* you for this *Violence* : And I pray you *consider* before you bring the *Guilt* of *innocent Blood* upon yourselves. The *Reverence* of his *Presence*, and his undaunted *Courage* in addressing himself so resolutely and gravely to them, surprized them, and made them stand a little while, as it were, *unresolved* what to do ; and one of them relenting, cry'd to the rest, *Spare these grey Hairs* : But their cruel *Zeal* overcoming their natural *Pity*, they replied, *He must Die, He must Die* ; and then again, calling him *traiterous Villain*, *Judas*, *Betrayer* of the *Interest* of CHRIST, Enemy

Enemy to God and his People, said to him, *Thou shalt now receive the Reward of thy Apostacy and Enmity to the People of GOD.* Then seeing them determined to take away his *Life*, he begged a little while to *pray*, telling them he would *pray* for them ; but they scornfully told him, they cared not for his *Prayers*, being sure that *God* would not hear so *base* a *Dog* as he was : Then looking stedfastly on one of the *Assassins*, whom he seemed to *know*, he kneeled down before him ; and said, *Sir, you are a Gentleman, and I must beg my last Favour from you ; that since you are resolved I must die, you would have Pity on my poor Child here, and spare her Life ; and for this, Sir, give me your Hand.* Then stretching out his *Hand* towards the *cruel Man*, he received a *Stroke* with a *Sword*, which almost cut off that *Hand* he held out ; and the *Villain*, redoubling his *Blow*, gave the *Archbishop* a *Wound* upon his *left Eye*. This *Stroke* knocked him down ; but getting upon his *Knees* again, he said, *Gentlemen, it is now enough, you have done your Work :* Then holding up his *Arms* to *Heaven* as well as he could, he fervently cry'd out, *Lord JESU have mercy on my Soul, and receive my Spirit.* While he was in this *Posture* of *Devotion*, they wounded him in many *Places* in the *Body* and *Limbs*, till, in a kind of *Composure*, he laid down his *Head* on his *Arm*, saying, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all.* These were his *last Words* ; after which they gave him no less than *sixteen Wounds* in the *Head*, insomuch that *Pieces* of his *Skull* and *Brains* were found some *Days* after on the *Ground* : Yet, as they were going away, one fancied he heard him *groan*, on which they *turned back* ; and, to make all sure, *stirr'd about his Brains with the Points of their Swords* : Then having made the *Servants* swear not to *discover* them, they, in *Derision*, bid them *take up their Priest* ; and, as these barbarous *Murderers* rid through the *Village* of *Magus*, *Mr. Balfour, of Kinloch*, was heard to say, *Now Judas is killed.* E Here

Here is a *Spectacle* for our *Patriots* ! Here let them feast their *Eyes* ! Here let them behold the *Effects* of such *Positions* as they maintain ! *Positions*, capable of destroying not only the *Man* they aim at, but of putting *wicked Men* on murdering any *Man* with whom they are *offended*, if that *Man* is above them, and so afford them a *Pretence* for alledging, that this is the only way of *coming at him*. Some of the *Books*, fraught with those *Opinions*, which induced *Felton* to perpetrate the *Death* of the *Duke of Bucks*, had been published in the former *Reign*, viz. of *James the First* ; and on their *Authority*, *Mr. Bertram*, a *Man* of *seventy Years* old, of a very fair *Reputation*, and in good *Circumstances*, thought himself at *Liberty* to put to *Death* *Sir John Tyndal* on this *Occasion* : *Leonard Chamberlayne* died *intestate*, having no *Issue* : His *Niece* therefore, who was afterwards married to *Sir George Simeon*, took out *Letters of Administration*, and possess'd herself of his *Effects* ; but *John Bertram*, having married *Chamberlayne's Sister*, procured those *Letters of Administration* to be repealed, and *new ones* to be granted to him in *Right* of his *Wife* : Then he filed a *Bill* against the late *Administration*, to discover the *Estate* of the *Intestate* ; and, on this *Bill*, it was decreed, that a *Bond* of *one Harris*, and all other *Bonds*, *Debts*, &c. due to *Chamberlayne*, should be set over to *Bertram* ; but, in penning this *Decree*, a *Mistake* was made ; for a *Bond* of 200 *l.* of *Harris*, was directed to be assign'd over ; whereas the *Proofs* went, that *Harris's Debt in toto* was 200 *l.* on several *Specialties*. *Bertram* having got this 200 *l.* in *Money* from *Sir G. Simeon*, would needs have another 200 *l.* for the *Bond* ; and for not bringing in that *Sum*, *Sir George* was committed ; who, suggesting the *Mistake* in the *Decree*, it was referred to *Sir John Tyndal*, a *Master in Chancery*, to examine the *Decree* and the *Proofs*, who reported justly and truly the *Fact* as it stood ; whereon the

Court

Court order'd the *Plaintiff* to shew *Cause* by a *Day* why *Simeon* should not be enlarg'd, and *Plaintiff Bertram* dismiss'd; but before the *Day*, *Bertram* pistol'd Sir *John Tyndal* for making the *Report*. Being apprehended for the *Murder*, and having Time to reflect on what he had done, and to weigh the *Motives* which had led him thereto, he chang'd his *Sentiments*; and, on his *Examination*, acknowledg'd it was as foul a *Murder* as ever was done; under the Sense of which, he, the next *Day*, hanged himself: And so followed one most villanous *Act* by another: A fit Instance of what such *Principles* produce. In the same manner, and from a *Motive* of a like kind, Mr. *Cheesly*, a *Scotish Gentleman* of *Fortune*, murdered Sir *George Lockhart*, then President of the *Session*; a Gentleman of unblemish'd *Character*, and, as a *Magistrate*, commended and revered through the whole *Kingdom*. Sir *George*, in his *Decision* of his *Suit*, had offended him, by adhering to *Justice*; *Cheesly*, who was a *Fanatic*, immediately fancy'd that he had a *Right* to destroy the *Person* he conceived to have injur'd him. This was no sudden *Gust* of *Passion*, but a cool premeditated Resolution to cut off an excellent *Judge*, because he had done what the *Law*, not only of *Scotland*, but of *Nature* and *Equity* required him to do, against a very bad *Man*, who cruelly injur'd and oppress'd his own *Family*. In order to put in *Execution* this bloody, this infamous *Act* of *Revenge*, *Cheesly* followed Sir *George Lockhart* to *London*; and, missing an *Opportunity* there, follow'd him down again to *Edinburgh*; and, on a *Sunday*, as he came from *Morning Service* on *Foot*, this *Affassin* slipp'd in between his *Servants*, and shot him through the *Back* with a *Brace* of *Balls*; of which Wound he, in a short time, expir'd. The *Fact* happening at *Noon-Day*, the *Villain* was instantly seiz'd; and, as he deserv'd, suffer'd first an ignominious *Death*, and was afterwards

wards bang'd in Chains, in order to terrify Men of gloomy Tempers from such atrocious Facts as these; it being evident, that on such wild and abominable Maxims, no Man's Blood was safe; especially if he had Authority, or bore any Office.

I have now, I hope, to the Satisfaction of my Readers, shewn, that the Story of *Rufinus*, as urged in the *Craftsman*, was not the real History of that wicked Minister; but a Parable invidiously pointing at the present State of Things, charging the honourable Person, whose Ruin is sought by the *Craftsman*, with the Crimes therein laid to *Rufinus*; and intimating the Similarity of the Character of *Arcadius* to that of his Majesty, than which a more gross and scandalous Affront was never offered to a Sovereign by a Subject. That the End intended to be gain'd by that malicious Paper, was the exciting a tumultuous bloody-minded Mob, to Drive or *Rufinus* the MINISTER, as they have already been induc'd to burning him in Effigy; or to instigate some needy desperate Villain to attempt upon his Life, which is apprehended by the Faction, or rather by all the Factionous, which form that League of Hell, styl'd the Coalition, to be the sole Bar to their Designs; which are indisputably to change the Constitution; to introduce a Democracy or popular Republic, or to restore upon Terms to their own Satisfaction Him, who has so long pretended a Claim to this Crown. I have also shewn the Iniquity and dangerous Consequences of throwing out such Doctrines, not only in respect to Ministers, but of private Persons, whose Lives, if these Notions prevail, they can hardly call their own. Lastly, by Examples applicable to both Cases, I have made it manifest, that these are no artful Suggestions to serve a Turn, or raise an unreasonable Horror in the Minds of the People; but such Effects as may be justly dread'd from the Inculcation of such Principles, and the unweari'd Pains taken to promote and bring them to Perfection. And now let me conjure my Readers, and especially such as I mention'd at the beginning of this Discourse, to lay their Hands upon their Hearts; and, as Men, as Britons, as Christians, to determine whether they will continue to act in Consort with Murderers, Traitors, and open Enemies to the Christian Faith, which teaches Charity and Forbearance, not Bloodshed and Revenge; whether they will assist them in their Schemes, or give Countenance to Assassinations, Seditions and Proscriptions; or consent to the Subversion of that Constitution, under which we and our Forefathers have been so long happy: Or whether, with human, loyal, and religious Hearts, they will adhere to the Maxims of their Ancestors, and to the Precepts of Reason and the Gospel, answering such wicked Incendiaries, as *Jacob* spoke of his barbarous Sons, *Simon* and *Levi*. O my Soul, come not thou into their Secret, unto their Assembly; mine Honour, be not thou united, for in their Anger they slew a Man and in their Self-will overthrew a City: Cursed be their Anger, for it was fierce: and their Wrath, for it was cruel.

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